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ABSTRACT

There are three developments which have profoundly affected mans' values, attitudes, social institutions, and behaviorisms. These are the population explosion, the population implosion, and population differentiation. These three developments are interrelated and are affected by accelerating rates of technological and social change. By reason of these developments many problems are created, a highly significant one being that of education. The thesis of this paper is that many of the contemporary problems may be viewed as frictions in a transition still under way from an agrarian society to a metropolitan order. It is contended that education, up to World War II, was a major factor in unifying the nation, but that since then the educational establishment has failed to keep up--and contributes, not to democracy, but to social stratification. After describing the population developments as manifest in the history of America, the necessity for making both quantitative and qualitative changes in the educational establishment becomes obvious. It is also suggested that the past prevents the solution of educational problems. It is concluded that survival depends in abandoning nineteenth and prior century ideologies and systems of governments. (Author/AM)

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POPULATION TRENDS AND THE IMPLICATIONS FOR EDUCATION

by

Dr. Philip M. Hauser

I am going to consider population trends in a broad way and probably in a context in which you may not have seen them before. In the course of man's occupation of this planet, there have been three developments which more than anything else to which you might refer have profoundly affected man's values, attitudes, social institutions, and behaviorisms. These three developments are the population explosion, the population implosion, and population differentiation.

I think everyone understands by now what is meant by the population explosion as it refers to the remarkable acceleration of world population growth, particularly during the three centuries of the modern era. By the population implosion, I refer to the increasing concentration of the world's peoples on a rather small portion of the earth's surface--the phenomenon better known as urbanization and metropolitanization. By population differentiation, I refer to the increasing heterogeneity of peoples who share not only the same geographic area, but increasingly the same life space--social, economic, and political activities.

Now these three developments are interrelated and are affected tremendously by accelerating rates of technological and social change, which, in many respects, are both antecedent and consequent to the population developments. It is obvious that the population explosion fed the population implosion, and both fed population differentiation. The U.S.A. is the world's most dramatic example of all three of these developments, and I want to run briefly through some basic facts, highlighting that statement and documenting it.

Let me before doing so state my major thesis. That is, by reason of these developments man has created a 20th Century technological, physical world to which references have already been made this morning. The new world man has created has generated many problems--physical problems, personal problems, social problems, economic problems, and problems of governance. Among the list of these problems, a highly significant one, is the problem of education. Education in itself may be regarded as an element in the process of socialization, the process by which these puking, helpless things we call infants are transformed into human beings or members of society. My thesis is that many of our contemporary problems may be viewed as frictions in a transition still under way from an agrarian society to

a metropolitan order, from the little community, using Bob Redfield's language, to the mass society. Problems have beset us and are still besetting us in a chronic and acute form because we are still attempting to deal with these 20th Century problems with inherited 19th and 18th Century ideologies, with 18th and 19th Century forms of governance, and inherited 18th and 19th Century values. Many of these cultural survivals obstruct our efforts to deal with our contemporary problems. This general framework is directly applicable to the entire field of education on all levels of education--primary, secondary, and higher education.

Let me go on to see if I can support this statement, having in mind that when I refer to education I visualize an establishment which has well nigh collapsed, particularly at the primary and secondary school levels, especially in the inner cities of all of America's metropolitan areas. I contend that education, up to World War II, was a major factor in unifying this nation; transforming our immigrants into Americans; and making possible an unparalleled example in the history of the world--a highly mobile society in which each person was able to rise to whatever level his own capacities permitted. This, I think, has been the historical mission of education in this nation, especially beginning with public school education in 1820. Without trying to fix the date anymore specifically, but certainly since World War II, the educational establishment has failed to keep up with the requirements of the basic developments to which I have referred; and education is today, if anything, contributing not to a democratic society but, on the contrary, to a stratified society, stratified by race and economic status. It is failing to prepare a good part of the citizenry of this nation in this decade, let alone the period which lies ahead to the end of the century. It is failing to provide a large proportion of our children with the basic skills, the saleable skills, and the citizenship skills prerequisite to assuming the obligations and responsibilities, as well as the rights of citizenship, in this nation. Now I have taken on a couple of hard propositions. Let me see now if I can document them.

Let me first indicate the population developments as manifest in the history of this nation:

Population Explosion. When our first census was taken in 1790, we were a nation of fewer than four million souls. When our 18th census was taken in 1960, we were approximately 180 million. At the present time we are just short of 203 million. But by the time our next census is taken next year on April 1, we shall probably be approximately 205 million; and by the end of the decade beginning in 1980, we shall have some 230 to 235 millions, depending on the course of the birth rate which is still unpredictable. May I say, by the end of this century, we are almost certain to be a nation in excess of 300 millions, which means we shall be adding 100 million people to our population

in the next 31 years. And, if we figure 230-235 million beginning in 1980, we shall probably be 265 million, something of that magnitude, by 1990. There in a nut shell is the population explosion.

Population Implosion. When our first census was taken in 1790, 95 per cent of the American people lived in rural places on farms or places having fewer than 2,500 people. Only 5 five per cent lived in urban places. There were only 24 urban places in the whole nation, and only two of these, New York and Philadelphia, had populations in excess of 2,500. In the short span of our national history, by 1960, we had become in contrast 70 per cent urban and 63 per cent metropolitan. The federal government defines metropolitan areas as cities of 50 thousand or more and the county or counties in which they are located. At the present time, those percentages are probably closer to 74-75 per cent urban, and may be 65 per cent or more metropolitan.

Now I want to call attention to something that I think is a prerequisite to understanding most of the problems which afflict contemporary America. We did not become an urban nation in the sense of more than half of our people living in urban places until as recently as 1920. This means it will not be until our next census is taken in 1970 that we will have a recording of this nation completing her first 50 years as an urban nation. I think you will agree that a half century is a very small period in the life of a nation. In fact, there are many of us in this room that hope that it is a short part of one's lifetime. And, indeed, I suspect it is a true statement to say that the United States has become urban and is completing her first half century as an urban nation during the course of a lifetime of most of us in this room. In light of this perspective, it is small wonder that we are afflicted with problems in contemporary urban American including educational problems.

Population Differentiation. As recently as 1900, little more than half of the American people were native white, of native parentage. We are very much a polygot nation. We are made up of representatives of virtually every ethnic, racial, and cultural group on the face of this earth. Even in 1960, only 70 per cent of our people were native white of native parentage, and the other 30 per cent were still either foreign born, second generation immigrants--children of the foreign born, or non-white. Now what I want to stress in reciting these figures to you is that among other things, we in this country, as well as all of mankind, have only very recently been subjected to interaction and inter-communication with persons of tremendously diverse backgrounds, diverse by culture, by language, by religion, by value systems, by ethnicity, and by race. In general, mankind as a whole, now simply using the U. S. as one illustration, has created a new world characterized by populations of great size, great density,

and great heterogeneity; and this combination of things has completely outmoded a large part of the cultural heritage with which we now struggle to deal with our 20th Century problems. Moreover, these three developments, along with accelerated technological and social change, have converged in this last third of the 20th Century in this nation to actually convert many of our chronic problems into acute ones--to create what I think can be described accurately as a chaotic society. Our society is chaotic on many fronts, including the educational front, and there is a question, for the first time in our national history, as to whether we really are still and can remain a viable society. Now this is the framework with which I would like to discuss the problems of education.

As a result of these basic developments, the educational establishment is faced with the necessity for making both quantitative and qualitative changes. Now the quantitative changes certainly at the primary and secondary school levels have constituted acute problems ever since the post war baby boom when babies hit our elementary schools, approximately in 1952-53. The post war baby boom began with the demobilizing of our troops in 1946, at which time marriage rates jumped upwards and the baby boom began. It persisted until and through 1957. In fact, since demobilization, there have been over 90 million babies added to the population of the U. S. This is not a net increase in population. These are the babies that have come in without taking into account the work of the undertakers. But the 90 million babies which inundated the educational system, most of whom will survive through primary and secondary school, had a tremendous impact and constitute a measurement of the quantitative adjustment required by the American educational system. Now the biggest impact was first felt, of course, in the elementary schools of the nation because it was during the 50's that the entire enrollment of the elementary school population became part of the post war baby crop. During that decade, in general, elementary schools experienced something like a 45 per cent increase in youngsters of elementary school age. This tidal wave of babies did not hit the secondary schools until the 60's. It wasn't until the 60's that the high school enrollment was made up entirely of post war babies. And, in fact, to appreciate the size of the adjustment required by primary schools, let me point out that during the 1940's youngsters of elementary school age (roughly taking 5 through 14) increased by only 9 per cent. The educational system had to adjust to something like a 46 per cent increase during the 50's. The high schools during the 50's had to absorb an increase of something like 26 per cent of the population of youngsters 15 through 19 years of age. But during the 60's, they were forced to absorb something like a 45 per cent increase of youngsters of high school age. Now these quantitative adjustments at the primary and secondary school levels have largely been made, not always successfully, but I say have largely been made, because as we turn to the 70's and 80's we find a decrease in the rates of increase of these age groups reflecting, of course, the plateau in the birth rate of the first war baby boom and the

actual decrease in births which have occurred in this nation since 1957. I am going to say a word about that decrease in general. Then I want to translate what lies ahead into actual enrollment figures for primary and secondary schools and for higher education as well.

Although the birth rates have been doing down in this nation since 1957--the crude birth rate, births per 1,000 persons per year--it is undeniably true as the next two or three years will show that we are now at the verge of another baby boom. This is so because most of our children are born to women 20 to 29 years of age. We live in a society which is almost 100 per cent a birth control society, and the predominant proportion of all youngsters are born to women under 30. Now the number of women 20 to 29 years of age will increase 35 per cent between 1967 and 1975. That great increase in women of reproductive age, the heavy child bearing ages, is certain to produce, as an echo effect of the first world war baby boom, a new baby boom. The only reason we have not yet heard from our post-war babies, reproductively, is that for the first time in several decades the age at marriage has turned upwards and, also, the age of mother at birth of the first child. The factors responsible include the size of the post-war baby crop itself which was not readily absorbed into the economy, relatively higher unemployment rates, the Vietnam conflict, the uncertainties of the draft, and something we demographers call "the marriage squeeze." This expression refers to the fact that the women who were born in the post-war boom now coming of reproductive age are much more numerous than the number of males whom normally they would marry in our society, namely the males two or three years their seniors who were born during a period of lower birth rates. Incidentally, I pass on some practical advice to those of you who are parents of post-war babies that you ought to pass on to your daughters. If they find they are having a little trouble in the marriage market, assure them it is not because of any deficiencies on their part. It is simply by reason of a demographic fact of life. If they want to marry early, they better marry a man their own age or one younger whom they can raise to their own specifications!

With this perspective in mind, what I am pointing to now is that after the tremendous bulge in the birth rate--the tidal wave which hit the elementary and secondary schools--the birth rate is now decreasing. Thus in many communities you will find that many of the schools which have been built to absorb the post-war baby crop are beginning to register empty classrooms because they will actually find a decrease in children of elementary school age between now and the 1980's. And then a new baby boom will exert new pressures on the entire educational system. This will be the result of the new baby boom beginning within the next year or two and persisting for about the same period as the post-war baby boom, namely some 11 years.

I have tried to translate what these age changes will mean in enrollment to handle the quantitative part of the problem. Let me read out these figures because the translation required a certain amount of manipulation of the slide rule yesterday, and I do not yet

have these figures in mind. In 1970, according to the U. S. Bureau of the Census estimates, about 58.9 million students will be enrolled in the nation's schools--that is next year and it is not too far off. Starting from that date, this enrollment figure represents an increase of some 12.6 million students, or 28 per cent over, the 1960 enrollment. Of the total in 1970, 36.5 million pupils, or 62 per cent, were in the elementary schools including kindergarten; fifteen million, or 25 per cent, will be in the high schools; and 7.4 million, or 13 per cent, will be in college. Now if we use the 1970 year as a base point, by 1985 the total school enrollment is projected by the Census Bureau to increase from 2.6 to 18 million students, depending on the course of the birth rate. However, if we take an average of those projections, which is a reasonable procedure, we would have an enrollment of about 69.2 million by 1985. This would be an increase of over 10 million students, or over 17 per cent between 1970 and 1985. That is about as good a figure as we can get for the mid 80's.

Now elementary and kindergarten school enrollments may actually diminish during the 70's to a low of about 32 million by 1980, reflecting the decrease in births in the U. S. since 1957. However, the new baby boom is likely to begin in the early 70's and will probably raise the elementary school enrollment figures close to its post-war peak again during the 80's. So you have a fluctuation ahead obviously involving problems of adjustment by the educational establishment.

High school enrollment is due to increase from 15 million in 1970 to a peak of about 16.5 million by the mid 70's. Then it will decline up to about the 1970 level again by the mid 80's. Again, you see this is reflecting the drop in births since 1957. The elementary and high school enrollments, already at high participation rates, will largely follow the changing age structure.

College enrollment will depend more than the elementary and secondary enrollment on the changing participation rates, that is the proportion of children at each age actually going to college, as well as the changing age structure. By 1985, college enrollment could increase from 7.4 million in 1970 to about 10 to close to 12 million by 1985. Whether it will be 10 or 12 million is going to depend on what happens to the enrollment rates at each age. These figures are not so much affected by the changing birth rate.

Now the data indicate, then, that the primary and secondary schools have probably already reached their peak or are close to their peak enrollment between now and the mid 80's. Higher education must be prepared for further expansion, however, under the impact of increases both in the number of college age persons and still increasing participation rates. And, of course, as you are aware, college enrollment during the 60's almost doubled, under the impact of both the changing age structure and changing participation rates. That is the quantitative picture. In my view this is the relatively simple

problem, although it is not one to which American society as a whole has made too good an adjustment. Certainly in many places there has been a very great unevenness in the extent to which we have met the quantitative challenge.

Let me deal now with what I think is a much more significant problem--the qualitative challenge which, as I said at the outset, the educational establishment has utterly failed to meet. I would like to provide some basis for considering this by saying that we are afflicted by all kinds of cultural survivals--relics of the dead past which paralyze our society and prevent action on many fronts, including the educational front. One of my professors, the late William F. Ogburn, a gentlemen from Georgia, introduced into the literature a concept with which I am sure many of you are familiar--"cultural lag." This refers to the fact that different elements of culture classified in various ways, e.g., material and nonmaterial, change at different rates. Some elements, therefore, lag behind others in change, and a good part of the chaos in our contemporary society, in my judgment, can be explained by such lags. The fact is that some things have just gotten way ahead of other things. Let me give you some examples of cultural lag, examples of matters which have paralyzed our society from dealing with the challenge posed by the changed technological and physical world--and, among other things, have prevented us from dealing with the problems of education.

To make this a kind of shock treatment, let me start out with what I regard as outmoded tenets. I do this not only to indicate how the past prevents us from dealing with our problems, but also to indict the educational system because it has not through curriculum and content provided the American people with the prospectives that I am setting forth before you. I set this forth then as a kind of a challenge. What are some of these outmoded tenets and ideologies?

1. That government governs best which governs least.

2. Each man in pursuing his own interest, as if he were guided by an invisible hand, automatically acts in the interest of all.

3. Taxes are something that government takes away from people.

I am going to deal with each of these tenets a little bit in their proper historical setting.

That government governs best which governs least. Why not, in 1790, when 95 per cent of the American people lived on farms or in small towns of under 2,500 population, what was there for government to do? A man who supported his family on a farm was doing all that which was necessary for the welfare of the people of the United

States. But this tenet constitutes utter nonsense in the United States in this last third of the 20th Century. In the urban, metropolitan order, in our mass society, I want you to visualize a United States without a Social Security System, without a Pure Food and Drug Administration, without a Security and Exchange Commission, without a Federal Trade Commission, without a Civil Aeronautics Authority, and so on down the list. In fact, another example of cultural lag is afforded by the fact that we persist in calling ourselves a free enterprise society. Socialism is still a nasty word. A "Welfare Society" is still a questionable concept, when the sheer fact is that we are at least in part already a welfare society.

Another interesting example of how we resist even recognizing the facts of life is that we will talk about our form of marriage as monogamic. But the proportion of multi-married spouses continues to increase. From the statistics, we do not have a mongamic society, we have a society that is sequentially polygamous and polyandrous. By reason of cultural shock we are unable to change our language to conform with the statistical facts. This is another example of cultural lag, just as that which prevents us from calling our society a welfare society even though we have many governmental welfare provisions. We still think in terms of the rugged individualism of the frontier days before America became an urban society.

Let us go on to this business of taxes being something government takes away from people. You can witness the debate on this tenet in all its glory, right now in one of the best representations of a dinosaur legislature that you find in the United States, now meeting in Springfield, in the great land of Lincoln. Are taxes something government takes away from people? You may think so from the behavior of the 19th Century minds and 20th Century bigots that make up the Springfield legislature. But I would like to submit to you that more consistent with the reality of 20th Century society, including that in the State of Illinois, is the notion that this large, mass, urban, metropolitan, interdependent, highly vulnerable society we have created has generated needs for all kinds of public services which can only be supplied through government. The basic question which should be faced by our 19th Century minded Illinois State Legislature (and I can add this applies also to the House Ways and Means Committee of the Congress of the United States) is what are the essential public services required to maintain the United States as a viable society? And after that question is answered, how do we raise the revenues to perform those public services? The cart is placed before the horse by reason of cultural survivals which afflict the minds of our legislators, as well as those of the general public, when what is regarded as the basic question is "how do we minimize taxes?" In consequence, we have seen in Springfield during this session, and there is only one week left of the session, great debates on which of several inadequate measures of support is to be adopted for education. At the moment it is is not clear at all that when the session ends

Illinois will not have become bankrupt. If this is what happens it would at least be consistent with the mentality of the legislature.

Let me proceed to point out that it is these kinds of considerations, these kinds of cultural survivals and outmoded ideologies that have paralyzed our society and prevented us from dealing with our contemporary problems, including educational problems. Our basic problem is that of the utter failure on the part of the American society to allocate enough resources for adequate education, and this leads me to deal more specifically with the problem of education in the inner city.

It is in the inner city that we can see the worst consequences of the combination of the population explosion, population implosion, and population differentiation. The post-world war period in this country has witnessed the in-migration to metropolitan areas of non-whites and other minority groups, including the Appalachian whites or "Hillbillies." These people in some respects are much worse off than our blacks because they haven't discovered they have a problem yet. But they are beginning to learn. There also have been lesser streams of in-migrants--Puerto Ricans, Mexicans, and the latest newcomer of all to our cities. Guess who. The same man who was here to greet the first white man and the first Negro--the American Indian is just joining up.

Now in this complex society, a highly heterogenous and pluralistic order accelerated by World War II and its post war aftermath, what has education done? I submit to you that the educational establishment has shown very significant signs of rigor mortis. I do not think there is anyone here who could challenge me on the statement that our inner city schools have not been providing inner city children, white and black, but mostly minority groups, and poor, with the basic skills, the saleable skills, and the citizenship skills to prepare them to stand on their own feet. The schools have utterly and miserably have failed to do this. And, this is true for a variety of reasons, many of which are tied to the developments of which I have been speaking.

First, state legislatures have completely defaulted in their responsibilities to public school education. If you want another example of cultural lag, let me call this to your attention. As recently as 1960, there were 39 states in the Union in which the urban population constituted a majority of the people. But, there was not a single state in the Union in which the urban population controlled the state legislature. In these days when it is customary to speak of civil disobedience, I submit to you that the American people have never had as injurious a form of civil disobedience as the civil disobedience of the state legislators, who for the first sixty years of this century, defied both the federal constitution and the state constitutions in refusing to reapportion.

Here is another perspective that our school curricula do not yet convey by reason of cultural lag. Why is the federal government in such things as public housing, urban renewal, expressways and highways, civil rights, mass transportation, and education? The general public and educators, writers of textbooks, boards of education, and others who should know better regard these federal functions as an encroachment of federal government on the rights of states? Nothing could be more naive or silly. What has happened is that minority, rural dominated state legislatures, have been wilfully and callously ignoring urban problems and have forced the urban population, consisting of three-fourths of the people of the United States today, to turn to the federal government for the resolution of their problems, including their educational problems. It is not that the federal government has usurped state rights. It is that the states have been committing suicide. They have defaulted on their obligations to the urban and majority populations. As a matter of fact, it doesn't matter too much what the state legislatures will do from now on. If the Illinois State Legislature goes home and leaves the state bankrupt, that will simply be a further invitation to the federal government to take over just as it already has on the open housing front. The Illinois State Legislature, which has for several sessions demonstrated that it is dominated by a bigoted 19th Century majority, has again refused to pass open housing legislation. Now what is going to be the effect of that? The federal law and federal enforcement will take over the State of Illinois next year. These same legislators will then grumble about the federal's interference with "state's rights."

State legislatures are just one element of the situation. What about the educational establishment itself? In my judgment, there are very few examples of cultural lag in the professional world that make such startling good case studies as the superintendents of the public schools in the United States. The American association of school superintendents did not discover until about three years ago that the populations of the inner cities in the United States had changed, that there were problems of integration, that there were problems of curriculum, and that there were problems affecting the administration and the structure of the schools, of textbooks, and of the training of teachers. I submit to you that the educational establishment is led by superintendents many of whom have yet to be dragged into the 20th Century and who have been asleep for at least one human generation. This is another element of the situation. I want you to point in response to this challenge to the superintendents who have really been the leaders. Point to those who have carried the message of needs in the inner cities to their boards of education or to the state legislatures and who have really fought for what was needed.

Let me turn to a third culprit--teachers' unions. I am certainly not opposed to organized labor and not opposed to having organized teachers. But I submit to you for consideration the obvious

selfishness and self-interest of teachers' unions which have been more concerned with seniority rights and the conveniences of the teacher than of the needs of the pupils. As a result we find that the teachers with the greatest experience and the highest education are not in the inner city schools which need them the most. This is a national disgrace. The teachers' union in its recent strike in the City of Chicago, although it gave lip service to some changes in behalf of the students, was essentially interested in getting higher salaries. The needs of the inner city pupils was a secondary matter to the teachers. Precious little has been done either with respect to the allocating of funds, to the assignment of teachers, to the integration of staff, or to anything else that indicates a real concern for the pupil rather than a concern for the prerogatives of the teachers.

Another culprit is the apathetic population which is more concerned about its tax bill than about the education of its children or about what it means to the next generation in this nation. We are collectively guilty. The only question in my mind is whether we can assemble enough in the way of intelligence and mobilize enough in the way of effort to stem the tide which I say is resulting in education creating not a democratic society but a caste system, a population stratified by race and by economic status.

I am going to document and demonstrate this statement very quickly with a neologism for which I apologize. Have you ever heard of the pre-conception IQ? Well, that's a concept I have invented. A pre-conception IQ is the IQ of the child before it is conceived. Now the child in our society with a very high pre-conception IQ bright enough to select white parents who live in a suburb, has by that astute act guaranteed unto itself an input for public school education anywhere from two to ten times that of the child with a miserably low pre-conception IQ, stupid enough to select black skinned parents who live in the inner city. May I say the child with an intermediate pre-conception IQ, bright enough to select white parents, but too stupid to select them living in a suburb, gets an intermediate education as measured by input per child in the public school system. And this is a society which calls itself democratic and is proud of its "equality of opportunity!"

Let me turn now to the problem of higher education. We in higher education, and I happen to operate at a university, are not excepted from my indictment that the educational establishment has fallen asleep. We are still turning out teachers at colleges and universities of this land utterly unprepared for the jobs which face them in our inner cities. We are still stressing teaching methods in the training of an elementary school teacher, as if it might be a sin to provide that teacher with knowledge about what to teach. We in higher education are still bound by administrative structure and procedures which date back to the medieval period and which are now being resented by many students.

In the revolt of student bodies there are certainly many factors involved. Remember this when considering our young as a whole. Those now enrolled in colleges are a rather unique generation. They are the highest educated generation this nation has ever produced, as measured by years of schooling. They are the first generation in the history of man who from the moment of birth have been exposed to the idiot box--that device which has brought into their living rooms every conceivable problem (national, international, and global), generally in distorted form and in living color. It is the first generation that has been subjected to war in the living room in living color with daily and weekly box scores of the dead and wounded. It is a generation which is reinforced by the strength of numbers because it is a post-war baby boom generation. It is a generation which is facing relatively high rates of unemployment, deferred married rates, and great uncertainties with respect to the future by reason of the draft. It is a generation which more than any other generation has reason to be disillusioned with their elders, including their educators, because we made the mistake of educating them to a point where they perceive the difference between what we as a society profess and what we do.

Now, at the extreme, this generation is acting in a highly peculiar and mystifying manner. I think the generation as a whole has come to the conclusion that we are a sick society, a chaotic society. In my judgment, they are quite right. But at the extreme, we have a group which calls itself the Students for the Destruction of Society (pardon me, I guess they call themselves the Students for a Democratic Society. I see they are now destroying each other which holds forth some hope.) At the extreme, the Students for the Destruction of Society have concluded that we have a sick society that is so sick that it is beyond remediation. Consequently, they feel that our society must be destroyed. It is an amazing thing (I don't know how many of you have had direct contact with them) to note two things which are most appalling: (1) their absence of any sense of history, and (2) their complete sense of righteousness that gives them in their own minds the right to destroy the university because the university is part of the establishment. In fact, to reason with this group is one of the absurd exercises in which adults ought not to indulge. They are not there to reason. I am talking about the extreme, the SDS type of group. They are not there to get their demands satisfied, their "non-negotiable" demands. They are there for confrontation, disruption, and destruction. This is in contract to the blacks who, when they present demands, generally have demands that they want to get satisfied.

My point in making even this brief reference to this situation is that to the extent that higher education is vulnerable either in terms of the way it is administered, its structure, its curriculum or its teaching procedures, you can be sure that this generation spearheaded by the irresponsible, militant SDS and its offshoots are

going to make life increasingly miserable for the universities. And, in my judgment, rightly so. The only way to deal with the situation is to accelerate change in the direction that makes sense. This includes, may I say, increased student participation in matters which concern them. But having said that, let me immediately say this also. This does not mean that higher education becomes a participatory democracy in which each student and each faculty member has one vote, anymore than the patient and the surgeon each have one vote on how to proceed with an appendectomy.

It does mean, however, that the students must have channels of communication so they are heard before action is taken. It does not mean that they select faculty and determine promotion and tenure as many of them in their righteousness and naivete assume they have the competence to do. In any case, higher education is also being subjected to great pressures and must face up to the need for change.

The problems of education are but one example of the pressures to which our whole society is being subjected as we try to create a 20th Century world in which the social, economic, and political catch up with the technological and physical. This is, indeed, the problem. Can we remain a viable society? My answer to that is "yes" only if we manage to learn how to live in this 20th Century technological and physical world we have created; only if we abandon that part of our 19th and 18th and prior century ideologies, systems of government, and procedures that preclude us from learning how to live in the 20th Century world. Unless we manage to bring the social, economic, and political up to the level of the physical and technological, I think we are in for some stormy decades; and that the 80's may be characterized not by the progress which most of us think is bound to come, but by greater chaos than anything we have yet seen in American society.